1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

native described to me the way in which on one occasion, he had helped carry a stone weighing several tons to which were lashed a number of large poles radiating in several directions.

HOUSE-BUILDING

The occasion of building of a new house was usually in honor of a first-born son. The construction of the platform (*paepae*) and the house (*fa'e*) itself was regarded as one enterprise, though a new house was frequently placed on an old platform. The labor was characterized as *hana me'ie* (common work) because the sleeping house was not *tapu;* hence the enterprise required no sacrifice. Although the house itself was not sacred yet the work on it, like all labor, was *tapu,* and required consecration of the workers. All of the work was done by men except the making of the coconut mats used for thatching, and of the pandanus mats used on the bed space, this being women's work. Before beginning the work, all the

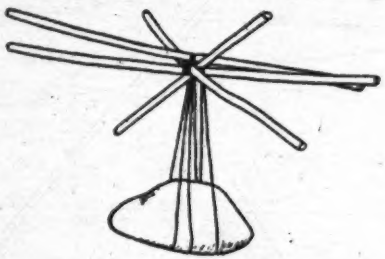

FIGURE 14.—Method of carrying heavy stones.

men who were to take part in it bathed in the sea in order to free themselves from contaminating influences.

The man who desired to have a new house erected employed the house-building *tuhuna* (*tuhuna hakatu fa'e, tuhuna hakatu paepae*). The assistants of this *tuhuna* were called *ta akau* (*ta,* strike; *akau,* wood) or *te tau poi ma te kaokao* (the people by-the-side). A feast was prepared and served, all who came being expected to bring stones. After the feast the *tuhuna* took charge of the work, those who had brought the stones working under his direction. The master builder laid the first stone, indicating the true line, and directed the operation. The two stones at each front corner of the platform were laid by the master *tuhuna* himself in the afternoon of the first day. Then a ceremonial priest (*tuhuna pu'e* or *tuhuna o'ono*) intoned the *pu'e* chant, ending that day's labor, the actual building of the platform being done the following day. A rainfall during the night was a sign that both the owner of the house and the *tuhuna* who was building it would die.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

was building it would die. Consequently the house-building *tuhuna* had to be certain in his mind that it would not rain and that the omens were good before he would begin. The dimensions of house platforms were set and regulated by spans (*ma'o*). The outline of the platform was first indicated by a single line of stones laid out on the ground, the line being called the rat's path (*te a'anui kio'e*). The platform was then built up line by line, the interior being filled with earth as each level of stones was laid.

I did not ascertain whether or not the same workers (other than the *tuhuna*, who directed the work throughout) continued with the erection of the house itself after the completion of the platform. While the house was in building the *tuhuna* and workers and those who gathered the materials were fed by the owner. Little was ascertained regarding the actual process of construction. It is obvious that the frame would have been erected first. Inside the frame under the roof were the *hakahaka*, wooden cross-pieces on which workers sat or stood while binding on the thatch. A special *tuhuna* was employed to put on the ornamental sennit lashings, the designs of which were derived from string figures. According to Linton, these sennit designs sometimes showed against a back ground of white cloth that was wrapped around the ridge-pole beneath the bindings. The man who adzed and carved the front and end posts of the house was also a special *tuhuna ha'a tikitiki*. According to Linton, old posts were utilized for the frames of new houses. Old sennit cord was also used for lashing and for binding on the thatch.

When the house itself was completed the *pu'e* was again intoned. The ritualistic significance of the chanting of the *pu'e* upon the completion of the platform and the new house is easily seen. The *pu'e* begins with an account of the origin of the land. It ends by summoning various children of Atea, personifications of the different materials utilized in building platforms and houses, each being called upon to come and contribute his or her share to the erection of the house of Atanua, wife of Atea, and traditional ancestress of all Marquesans. Soil (*epo*), personified, is summoned to come and fill and level the platform of the mythical house of the goddess Atanua; next, cut red stone (*ke'etu*) personified, is summoned to come and make the curbing along the front edge of the house elevation (*hii*) on the platform; then round beach stones (*kiva*) to come and cover the top (*ae'ae*) of the *paepae;* breadfruit wood (*mei*) to come for end posts (*pou*); a palm, *vahane* (*Corypha umbraculifera*) for the ridge pole (*ka'ava*); coconut (*ehi*) to furnish fiber for sennit lashings (*pu'u kaha*), and leaves for the top thatching (*uhi*), and for the mats bound over the ridge crest (*topatu*); fau for the rafters (*okaoka*); and bamboo (*kohe*) to furnish the supports (*hokahoka*) and *kohakoha* of the roof, and bamboo uprights (*paae*) closing the front of the house.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

were much wider in proportion to their length than in Hiva Oa, Tahu Ata and Fatu Hiva, many of them being almost square, but the house floor was everywhere long and narrow. The local differences are due to the greater or less width of the veranda part. 342

The perfect *paepae* contains stones of three sorts: large irregular stones, preferably water-worn, used for the walls; flat, water-worn bowlders, used to pave the veranda and house floor; and large rectangular slabs of cut stone (*ke'etu*), used to face the front of the elevated house floor. The *paepae* show all degrees of variation, from this ideal arrangement, depending upon the materials available, the importance of the owner and the local excellence of the mason's art. In Nuku Hiva the *ke'etu* facing of the house floor was a practically constant feature. In Ua Huka *ke'etu* facings were common but not constant and in Hiva Oa they were limited to a few of the better built houses, usually those of chiefs. In Fatu Hiva *ke'etu* were very rare. The use of flat water-worn bowlders for paving was much more usual but even these were sometimes dispensed with. In one of the interior valleys of Hiva Oa practically all *paepae* were built of rough stones throughout. The *paepae* of a chief's house in the valley of Haka Ui, Nuku Hiva, had the house floor paved with large flat slabs which had apparently been split like European flag stones. As Stewart (59, p. 291) mentions the use of flags in this or a similar structure in Haka Ui in 1831, their presence can scarcely have been due to European influence. 342 333

After the introduction of metal tools cut stone in the form of rectangular blocks was frequently used for *paepae* and in a few recently built *paepae* the stones were set in ordinary lime mortar. [324]

The building of the *paepae* was supervised by a special *tuhuna* who drew on the ground the outline of the structure and with his own hands laid the first complete course of stone. He merely supervised the remainder of the construction, leaving the actual labor to the friends and relatives of the owner. The same *tuhuna* also supervised the construction of *me'ae* and other ceremonial structures, but he appears to have been simply a master builder, not a priest.

After the first course of stone had been laid, the space thus enclosed was filled with earth and stones, and the process was repeated after the laying of each successive course until the desired height was reached. The stones of the side walls were usually arranged so as to give the largest possible external surface, although a phrase in Dordillon's Dictionary (17) "*E tuku te kea matapao kaoko*" (Solid masonry—to place the long way of the stone in the thickness of the wall) shows that a more stable form of construction was known. After the side walls had been constructed the *ke'etu* were set on edge along the front of the proposed house floor, a third or even a half of their width usually being imbedded in

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

the *paepae*, and then the house floor was walled and filled until level with their tops. Whether the placing of the *ke'etu* took place before or after the paving of the front part of the *paepae*, could not be ascertained. Finally the surface of both parts of the *paepae*, with the exception of the bed space of the house, was paved with flat water-worn stones, those of the house floor being smaller and more carefully selected. Holes for the accommodation of the front posts of the house were frequently left along the front edge of the floor.

A curious feature not observed at the present time, is mentioned by Petit-Thouars (48, p. 345) in his description of a chief's house on the island of Tahu Ata. He says, "At either end of the single apartment which forms the house there is a part of the pavement raised about thirty-five centimeters above the rest. These two platforms appear to be more exclusively reserved for the king."

One or two stone back rests were a rather common feature of dwelling *paepae* in Hiva Oa. These back rests were simple slabs, usually undressed, set into the pavement of the veranda section and sloping at an angle of about 45 degrees. They were commonly placed at either end of the *paepae* and so arranged that the occupant sat with his side toward the house. One interesting back rest of this sort, of recent construction, was carved from the top of a large stone set in the last course of the *paepae* wall (Pl. XL. *a*, *b*). These objects appear to have been simply a primitive form of easy chair, with no religious or ceremonial significance, but it should be noted that similar back rests were occasionally placed within the bed spaces of houses within the precincts of the *me'ae* of Hiva Oa. When they were arranged in this position they were placed against the back of the house, sloping inward, so that the occupant faced the front of the house. A few stone back rests were observed in Nuku Hiva and Ua Huku but they were uncommon there.

In the paved space before the house, many large Nuku Hivan *paepae* have a rectangular pit running down to the original ground level. These pits are lined with stones throughout and were certainly built at the same time as the *paepae*. Two explanations of these pits were given by informants: That they were repositories into which objects that had become tapu were thrown and that they were larders or small *ma* pits. It seems unlikely that they were used as *ma* pits, however, as *ma* can only be preserved properly in pits dug in compact clay soil. Several old informants claimed that they had seen objects which had become tapu through touching the head of the oldest son thrown into such platform pits. In the valley of Hatiheu, Nuku Hiva, a pit of this sort had been used as a burial place for the owner's family, which had been wiped out by an epidemic. The house was afterward burned and the place declared tapu. Similar pits are a constant feature of the simplest form of *me'ae* in Nuku Hiva, but the majority of the *paepae*

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

in which they occur are unquestionably those of ordinary dwellings. No pits were observed in the dwelling *paepae* of Hiva Oa and the natives had no knowledge of such a feature. The single example seen on Fatu Hiva was in the valley of Omo'a in a *paepae* built for a chief's house; it was explained as a place for the temporary storage of food. The occurrence and use of these pits is of interest in connection with the skull pits found in many *me'ae* throughout the group.

All the Marquesan valleys afford an abundance of loose stone, a condition which, coupled with the constant necessity of building platforms and terraces, led to a development of the art of dry stone masonry truly remarkable in a people otherwise as primitive as the Marquesans. It would be difficult for Europeans to improve on the workmanship shown in many of the ordinary *paepae*. The builders seem to have taken pride in using the largest material available, bowlders weighing half a ton being quite common in these purely utilitarian structures.

POSITION OF THE HOUSE

As a rule there was only one house on a *paepae*, but a few *paepae* were observed on which there appeared to have been two, and possibly even three houses arranged longitudinally on the raised rear portion. None of the sites of this sort looked to be very old, and it seems probable that this was a recent development. Such a house group consisted of one large structure, the dwelling, with a small detached building at one or either end. The earth of the unpaved floors of the small buildings contained much ash and charcoal, proving them to have been cook houses. Normally a single house covered the entire rear raised section of the *paepae*, the floor of which was divided longitudinally into two almost equal sections. The front section, which formed the house floor, was paved with flat water-worn bowlders, usually small and of uniform size. The rear section, which formed the foundation for the bed, was unpaved, and its surface stood six to eight inches below the level of the floor.

FRAMEWORK OF THE HOUSE

The main timbers of the house were commonly made from breadfruit wood, but *mio* (*Thespesia populnea*) was also employed, especially when the posts were carved into tiki form. The timbers were carefully hewn and dressed and sometimes were elaborately carved. The essential elements of the framework were the end posts and the ridgepole, the front posts and the stringer. The great length of some of the ancient houses, upward of a hundred feet, necessitated the use of additional posts in regard to which Gracia says (28, p. 123), "If it is thought on account of the length [of the house] that the first two posts are not sufficient they plant a third just in the middle of the hut, or even a row." None of these very large structures have survived, and it is impossible to give additional details.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

	NUKU HIVA	HIVA OA	FATU HIVA
184 String records	Rare or absent	Common	Common
Wood carving	Inferior	Good	Good

Stone construction, ceremonial structures, sculpture and methods used for the disposal of the dead are reserved for detailed discussion in a report on Marquesan archaeology in preparation.

STONE CONSTRUCTION

	HIVA OA	NUKU HIVA	FATU HIVA
[333] Rough Stone	Smaller stone, poorer construction	Large stone, good construction	Small stone, poor construction
Cut Stone	Rare except in ceremonial structures	Common in structures of all sorts	Rare even in ceremonial structures

CEREMONIAL STRUCTURES

	NUKU HIVA	HIVA OA	FATU HIVA
[346] Tohua	Large, surrounded by platforms	Smaller, platforms on one side only	Small, enclosed by wall, platform on one side only
Me'ae	Platforms like house platforms, small and simple	Many terraces and platforms, large and complex	Smaller than Hiva Oa but complex
Linking of Tohua and Me'ae	Absent	Constant	Constant

SCULPTURE

	NUKU HIVA	HIVA OA	FATU HIVA
532 Wooden Images	Common	Common	Common
Stone Images	Rare	Common	Rare
Relief Carvings	Absent	Common	Rare or absent
Architectural Images	Very rare	Common	Rare or absent
Detached Heads	Very rare	Common	Rare or absent

DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD

	NUKU HIVA	HIVA OA	FATU HIVA
764 Mummification in dwelling	Common	Rare	Normal
Mummification in separate house	Rare	Normal	Rare
Platform for embalming house	Absent	Common on s. side of island, rare on north	Rare
Coffin	Canoe shaped with wood cover	Trough shaped with cover of poles	Trough shaped with cover of poles
Tree burial	Common	Rare	Rare

Except for stone construction, ceremonial structures and sculpture the local differences now ascertainable within the Marquesas are so slight that little can be deduced from them; but they appear to point to a higher development of carving in the southern islands of the group and of stone construction in the northern islands. The blending of these two influences in Hiva Oa produced the high development of stone sculpture on that island.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6
Memoirs Bernice P. Bishop Museum
171 324 333 592 764

Comparative Table Material Culture—Continued

Stone Construction

	Marquesas	New Zealand	Hawaii	Society Islands	Samoa	Tonga
Eye	Broadly oval to round, encircled by raised rim; straight or with slight upward slant	Narrow pointed oval, pronounced upward slant	Narrow pointed oval, pronounced upward slant; also straight eyes (less common)	Pointed oval encircled by raised rim; eye sometimes omitted	———	———
Brows	Exaggerated, high, arched	Exaggerated, high, arched	Exaggerated, high, arched	Exaggerated, high, arched or straight	———	———
Rough stone	Highly developed, wall terrace and platform	A few extensive structures, little or no stone construction in recent times	Highly developed, wall, terrace and platform	Well developed, wall, terrace and platform	Moderate development, wall and platforms. Large ancient structures	Moderate or poor development, wall and platform
Cut stone	Highly developed, rectangular slabs set on edge to face terraces or platforms	Not used	Rare, rectangular slabs set on edge to face terraces or platforms	Highly developed, rectangular slabs set on edge to face platforms, conical forms	Fale o le Fa'o only; stone posts	Highly developed, rectangular slabs set on edge to face platforms and trilithon

Mortuary Practises

	Marquesas	New Zealand	Hawaii	Society Islands	Samoa	Tonga
Mummification	Normal; evisceration by anus and rubbing with coconut oil; in dwelling or special house	Rare in historic times: evisceration by anus, rubbing with oil and smoking, special house	Not practised, temporary preservation by filling body with salt or by varnishing	Normal, evisceration thru incision and rubbing with coconut oil; in special house, anciently in dwelling	Practised by one family only; method like Society Islands	Not practised
Earth burial	Rare, limited to priests and diseased or insane; flexed position (?)	Rare, usually limited to slaves; flexed position	Lower chiefs, some priests, commoners; chiefs and priests extended, commoners usually flexed	Limited to lowest class, flexed position	Normal, extended position	Normal, extended position
Body kept until disintegration	Normal	Normal	Rare; decay hastened by burial and fire	Normal	One family only (see mummification)	Not practised
Disposal of bones	Placed in cave or sacred place; skulls of chiefs preserved	Placed in cave or hollow tree; heads of chiefs sometimes preserved	Kept in dwelling, in special house or in sacred place or placed in caves	Skulls preserved, bones buried in sacred place or put in cave	Skulls of chiefs sometimes kept	———
Vaults	Priests only, form of vault unknown	Not used	Vaults in platforms, priests and lower chiefs (?)	Not used	Rare if present	Stone vaults in mounds (langi) used by all chiefs

[196]